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Memory and History in South Eleuthera: A Report to the People of South Eleuthera

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Many thanks to the people of South Eleuthera for their time, patience, and support. This report would not have been possible without years of collaboration and friendship with those who live on and love the island.

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SUMMARY: Over the past 5 years, archaeologists from the University of Massachusetts Amherst have made several short-term trips to South Eleuthera to research the history of this portion of the island. Our main interests have been in understanding how the landscape has changed over the past 150 years, and especially in the past few decades as tourism has fallen off in the south. Through a combination of ethnographic research and pedestrian survey of the South Eleuthera landscape, we have gained a clearer understanding of the history of this region, and of contemporary life today. This report offers a summary of findings in response to our research questions on memory, history, and landscape in South Eleuthera, as well as some suggested next steps in studying the cultural resources of the region.

Figure 1. Bannerman Town Anglican Church

Figure 2. Big Ban, Millars Hill.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS & GOALS:

This research began with a central focus on the 19th century Millars Plantation Estate and the remaining standing structures on the former plantation property. Throughout the research process, the goals of the project expanded slightly to include more recent history and a broader regional focus, including lands adjacent to the Millars estate. Ultimately, the research sought to answer five questions, listed below. The report is organized topically to respond to each question.

1. What is the history of the Millars Plantation Estate, which was left by former owner Ann Millar to the descendants of her former slaves and servants in 1871?
2. What is the history of South Eleuthera? What are the important sites that people want to remember and preserve?
3. How has tourism impacted South Eleuthera over the past 60 years?
4. How has the landscape changed from agriculture or from tourism?
5. What is life like in South Eleuthera today, and what was it like in generations gone by?

METHODS & DATA:

- 24+ semi-formal and informal interviews with current or former residents of South Eleuthera (including Millars, John Millars, Wemyss Bight, Waterford, and Rock Sound)
- Youth focus group at the Wemyss Bight Community Library (2016)
- Classroom visit at Wemyss Bight Primary School (2016)
- Attendance at Homecoming in Millars (2014, 2015)
- Pedestrian survey of sites in and around Wemyss Bight, John Millars, Millars and Bannerman Town
- Archival Research at the National Archives, London, England; National Archives, Nassau

Figure 3. Walking interview with resident of John Millars.

A note on the production of this report:
Data was collected from local participants who consented to formal and informal interviews, site tours, and activities that were recorded with some combination of photographic, audio, or GPS recording (depending on the participant's written approval). This ethnographic data is acknowledged in the report through direct quotations, attributed by name when participants consented. Data and interpretations that come from archival sources, news media, or secondary analysis by other scholars are noted as such with appropriate in-text citations.

Figure 4. Community Meeting at the Bannerman Town Community Centre and Library. June 2017.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The History of Millars

The Millar family settled in the Bahamas at the end of the eighteenth century, presumably as part of the wave of Loyalist immigration following the end of the American Revolution (Parrish 1953; Peters 1962; Saunders 1983). The family was originally from Scotland, but likely arrived in the Bahamas by way of the American colonies in the 1780s or 90s, bringing with them a number of slaves already in their possession. The patriarch of the family, George Millar, established a plantation on Long Island, called "Strawberry Hill Estate." George Millar died in 1798, leaving all his property to his "natural children Robert Millar, Archibald Millar, Ann Millar, James Millar and George Millar (by Rebecca Darling of said Islands deceased)" (Millar 1795). Records of Millar's death indicate that he had roots in Midlothian, Scotland, and in his will he requested that his children be sent to Scotland for an education.

In 1803, Robert Millar began cultivating cotton on Long Island. At about the same time, cotton began to fail across the Bahamas and many planters emigrated or abandoned cotton entirely (Millar 1835). Millar moved "a considerable number of Slaves, belonging to the estate of [his] deceased father, George Millar, Esquire, ... to a new settlement, near the South east end of Eleuthera, and there placed under an Overseer" (1835:50). The original survey of the property measured out 1,000 acres of land, "measured and laid out unto Robert Millar, Ann Millar, [unknown] Millar and George Millar" (Department of Archives 1803). Robert Millar took charge of the Eleuthera property in 1806, building a strong cotton plantation that managed to resist devastation by the cotton bug and caterpillar that had decimated so many other plantations on this and other islands. In an 1835 article in the Journal of the Bahama Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, Millar described the process he implemented on his cotton plantation to defend against pest damage: yearly soil fertilization with manure, late-season planting, intensive pruning and management, and slash and burn at the end of harvest to destroy any potential for insect survival and infestation in dormant months. It was by this system that Millar was able to continue producing cotton for decades after most of the Bahamian cotton economy had crashed.

In the decade prior to the 1833 abolition of slavery in the Bahamas, Millar, like all other slave holders, had to participate in four slave censuses. In 1825, Millar owned 78 slaves across his properties in Eleuthera and Long Island, ranging in age from 3 months old to 61 years (Register of Slaves 1825). In the final census in 1834, Millar owned 115 slaves; 93 on Eleuthera, and 22 on Long Island (Register of Slaves 1834). Ten additional individuals were manumitted in July 1934, just prior to the census. Of the 115 people owned by Millar, 48 were under the age of 9 years, and therefore did not work in the fields or other plantation labor.[1]

In the years following emancipation, magistrates visited Eleuthera and praised what they viewed as Robert Millar's ideal model of apprenticeship, especially compared to some former masters who neglected and poorly treated their apprentices. Following their 1835 visit to south Eleuthera, they called Millar a "highly honourable exception" to the other cases they had witnessed during their travels (Michael Craton and Saunders 1992:15-16). Craton and Saunders

[1] The 1834 register is the only one that accounts for "How and where employed since 28 August 1832 or… since time of acquisition." Children under the age of 9 are listed as "Nil. on Eleuthera" or "Nil. on Long Island." Children 9 years and older are listed as "Field labourer" on one of the two island properties. Five teenaged individuals between ages 14-19 years are listed as "Domestic servant on Eleuthera." See Appendix for detailed summary and copy of 1834 register.

summarize the magistrates report, saying:

> In June 1836, it was reported that Millar had manumitted fifty-six of his apprentices for fixed sums, payable over twelve months, and freed fourteen others without payment on the sole stipulation that they, not Millar, be responsible for looking after their aged parents. Millar's former apprentices were allowed to keep their houses and grounds and were provided with enough wage labor to allow the industrious to fulfill their obligations and still live comfortably. The magistrates thought Millar an extremely humane master, reporting that the only two cases of punishment on the estate were for child neglect. Overall, the only complaints recorded on the magistrates' second circuit were the lack of ministers licensed to perform marriages and the difficulties experienced in getting crops to market in Nassau. [1992:16]

Millar used apprenticeship to establish sharecropping and tenant farming arrangements that would last for years. Special Justice Thomas Winder described Millar's estate in the years after emancipation:

> "Voluntary agreements were... entered into between Mr Millar and the heads of families, to remain on the estate and to work the same upon terms very liberal and beneficial to the people, and calculated to promote their industry, portions of land being allotted to each family, and every facility afforded them of fulfilling the contracts entered into, and comfortably maintain themselves and children." [Winder cited in Johnson 1996:86]

Through this system of sharecropping, Millar was able to continue using the labor of his former slaves, while the formerly enslaved were given access to land (on which they produced foodstuffs for the estate and for themselves). Winder’s report suggested that the sharecropping system used on the Millars Estate had encouraged the formerly enslaved community to invest in and remain on the land in their own interests and not simply in Robert Millar’s interest in continuing cotton production. Winder's prediction had a certain air of truth in it, as many of the descendants of the former slaves of Millar's plantation continued to live and work on the former plantation acreage.

Robert Millar died in 1845 at the age of 58. Robert left all his material and landed property to his sister Ann, his sole heir, who lived in New Providence at the time (Millar 1845). It is unclear if Ann ever spent any time on the estate in Millars, and if so, to what extent. Oral histories from elder residents of present-day Millars and Bannerman Town Settlements suggest that she did live on the Plantation hill at some point as there is a building that has been referred to as Ann Millar's house. Others speak fondly of a Nanny Millar as the last kind and benevolent owner of the land. It is unclear how the former plantation estate was used between Robert's death in 1845, and Ann's death in 1871, but there are some obvious continuities between the names on the 1834 slave census and the names of "old servants and former slaves" listed in Ann's last will and testament.

Ann Millar died on August 10, 1871. Both her will and gravestone describe her as "Spinster" and resident of New Providence. Despite that, her will details a very long list of heirs and assigns who would receive a variety of her material possessions, land, and monetary inheritance. At least sixteen of these individuals, often referred to as her "old servants and former slaves" also appear on the 1834 slave census, suggesting that many of them remained either in employment of the Millar family, or continued to reside on the former Millar Estates in

Eleuthera and Long Island.[2] Millar's will outlined the following regarding the Estate on Eleuthera:

> The tract of land on the island of Eleuthera known as "Millar's Settlement" containing about one thousand acres, a part of which, however, I have already disposed of, I give and devise the residue thereof to my old servants and former slaves old Scipio, and his wife Phyllis, old Harriet, Tom and his wife Grace, and her children, sailor George and his wife, Sarah, and her children, Dinah Millar, and her children, to be held and enjoyed by them in common and by their descendants forever.
>
> The land adjoining "Millars Settlement" aforesaid (excepting two hundred and fifty acres thereof) part of a tract originally granted to William A. Bowles, I give and devise unto my old servants and former slaves now residing or who may be residing at the time of my death, on "Millars Settlement" aforesaid including also the last mentioned parties and old Jack, his wife Chloe and her children, and Allan Millar, to be held and enjoyed by their in common, and by their descendants forever. [Millar 1869]

Many residents of the southernmost settlements (including Bannerman Town, Millars, John Millars, Wemyss Bight and Green Castle) of Eleuthera trace their ancestry back to these "old servants and former slaves."

Through interviews and walking tours of the former plantation site, we have learned that the former plantation land and buildings have been occupied and used by residents almost continuously following the transfer of land in Ann Millar's will. Many residents lived in former plantation structures through the 1980s, and many current residents have vivid memories of visiting family on the hill, playing in and around the old houses, and staying with elderly family members on the hill. Residents today still acknowledge their genealogical connection to the formerly enslaved population of Millars Plantation Estate, especially to those individuals named in the Ann Millar Will.

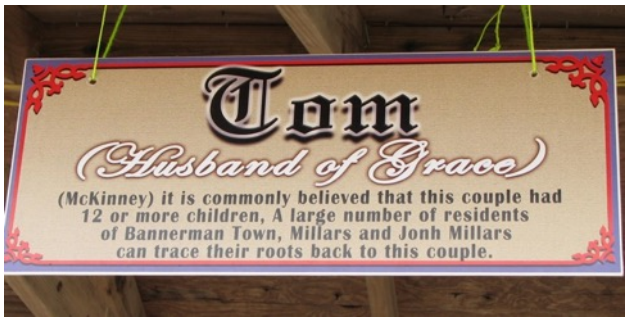


Figure 5. A sign in the Millars Homecoming Park refers to one of the named inheritors in Ann Millar's will, Tom McKinney, and her descendants who live across South Eleuthera

This property left for us by the old slave master, Ann Millar… My daddy told me he was the grandson of who this land was left for. I come from Tom and Grace McKinney. That's my inheritance side. That's my daddy inheritance side, so I come on his side. My children come through Tom and Grace McKinney. Because if you ask them, "how you get to be inherited of this property"- "my daddy." They got to say, "my daddy." So, "which side your daddy come on?" Tom and Grace McKinney.

-Cecil Williams, Bannerman Town.

[2] See appendix for details.

The History of South Eleuthera

Summary: Like much of the island, South Eleuthera was largely an agricultural region for much of its history, and many people took advantage of canning factories in South Eleuthera to expand the productiveness of their fields. In the second quarter of the twentieth-century, many men left South Eleuthera to work on the Contract in the United States[3], sending money home to their families here, and returning again throughout the years. In the mid-twentieth century, this part of the island saw a boom in tourism development, including at Cotton Bay and Cape Eleuthera. For many residents, these resorts provided jobs, security, and social networking for friends, family, and employers. When the hotels and homes began to close, many people lost jobs. The South Eleutheran economy continued to shift in relation to tourism development and construction throughout the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

People continued to live throughout southern Eleuthera during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The area remained largely agricultural, though cotton production likely ceased by the mid-nineteenth century. Instead, residents did subsistence farming for their family, and began working on some of the agricultural production that would give Eleuthera it's title of "the Breadbasket of the Bahamas." Modern-day residents have long histories and personal memory of family farmland throughout what now looks like untamed jungle bush to the untrained eye.

Oral histories commonly refer to the once bustling Bannerman Town, saying that it was once like a city where people would come from all over the island for festivals, community gatherings, and a dock that supported heavy traffic from exports, labourers and the mailboat. However, Bannerman Town has been depopulated and abandoned for nearly a century; few living people have any memory of the community beyond the stories they were told by family about its former prominence in South Eleuthera. Similarly, another settlement by the name of Hartford, to the north of John Millars, had completely emptied out by the middle of the twentieth century. One woman, born in 1933, explained that she was the last child born in Hartford, but the population had already diminished almost entirely by the time she was a small child. Still, people have varying knowledge about the settlement that was once a strong community. The "old road" that connected John Millars to Wemyss Bight once ran directly through Hartford, but it has since overgrown almost completely. Both settlements likely fell victim to the waves of migration that depopulated so many of the Family Islands in the 1910s, and again in the 1940s (Saunders 2016:199-206). Those who emigrated to Nassau or the United States never returned, and those who remained gradually found their ways into more productive and livable communities. Many residents of Bannerman Town relocated to Liberty City, Florida in the early twentieth century and may still reside in or near that location.

The entirety of Eleuthera remained a relatively productive agricultural island through the mid-twentieth century. The Hatchet Bay Company in North Eleuthera produced a variety of agricultural goods, poultry, and dairy, while Central Eleuthera dominated pineapple production and international export of the fruit for decades. South Eleuthera, on the other hand, was a major tomato producing region and several packinghouses throughout the southern settlements served

[3] In an agreement between the British and U.S. governments in the 1930s and 40s, Bahamian workers went to the United States to provide agricultural labor in place of American men who had enlisted in the military (Saunders 2016, 199-206). Most of these contracts were temporary and seasonal, but men (and occasionally women) regularly cycled through the system (Jenkins 2000; Saunders 2016).

the small and larger farms that concentrated on tomato farming. In 1939, American investor Arthur Vining Davis acquired 5,000 acres north of Rock Sound, where he developed Three Bay Farms which concentrated on tomato production and canning (Delancy 2015: 47). The investment brought employment to a large portion of South Eleuthera and helped modernize the Rock Sound area with electricity, improved roads, running water and telephone lines (Saunders 2016:212). Most people in their 50s and above have memories of tomato farming and packing in South Eleuthera, while others reminisce about family farms and tomato fields that now sit under abandoned resorts that would follow after the agricultural boom.

By the mid-1950s, Davis had developed the Rock Sound Club, which offered resort living and second-homes for American ex-pats. He soon sold some of his land to Juan Trippe, the founder of Pan American Airways. By the end of the 1950s, Trippe had developed the Cotton Bay Club, a resort and private homes just north of Wemyss Bight. Many local residents from Wemyss Bight worked at the Club in domestic and other tourism services, and the settlement experienced an economic boost that established new businesses for visiting tourists who wanted an evening outside of the Club. Many residents of Wemyss Bight at one point worked at the Cotton Bay Club in some capacity, or had family members who did so. One woman proudly told of the time she worked a special event at one of the houses where she met the Bush family, "the boys were still young in those days," she says about former president George W. Bush and Governor Jeb Bush. Some residents employed at Cotton Bay were able to travel the world while working for families who resided at the Club, as most of them were American, Canadian, or British. Trippe expanded the small Rock Sound airport to enable daily flights from New York to Eleuthera (Smith 2013). It was a major investment and economic boom for the island, enabling even more investment and development in the south.

Trippe also began developing the Cape Eleuthera Resort in the 1970s (Smith 2013). The grand plans for the resort encouraged improvements to the nearby settlements in South Eleuthera, especially Deep Creek. However, the development never took off as hoped, and was bankrupt a few years later. After Trippe's death in 1981, Cape Eleuthera passed to a new developer who never fully invested in it, and it was finally closed in 1983. This marked the start of another major economic downturn on Eleuthera (Smith 2013), as the developments that had brought modern life and tourist dollars to the island began to close their doors up and down the island.

The southernmost settlements, Millars and John Millars, had not done well during the three decades of economic growth in South Eleuthera. The Cotton Bay development employed many people from the Wemyss Bight, Waterford and Green Castle settlements, and the company provided transportation to and from the work site. Some of the elders in Millars explain that the company refused to do the same for workers this far south; it was simply too far away to be worth it. Millars is roughly 9 miles away from the Cotton Bay Club, and there is no public transportation on the island. The Cotton Bay Club closed shortly after Cape Eleuthera (Smith 2013), shuttering its doors to most visitors and local employees and nearby businesses. A few homes remained opened and some of these second-home owners still employ local housekeepers and grounds staff today, although even that is changing as the homeowners sell their properties and reduce staff.

One small economic opportunity took root in the 1990s, when another American company, Landquest International, acquired land in Bannerman Town to build a cruise port (Smith 2013). The government leased the land to the company for an insignificant amount of money, and with no consultation with locals. Residents of Millars were at first hopeful for the

prospect of economic development in their settlement, as the company assured them that the tourism economy would reach beyond the facility's gates and that they would employ locals. Neither came to fruition.

A new resort was built at Cape Eleuthera in the early 2000s, this time under the ownership of Landquest International (Smith 2013). Development at the Cape is still underway, and new cottages were just opened there in the summer of 2017. A Bahamian businessman and real estate developer by the name of Franklyn Wilson began acquiring land throughout South Eleuthera (including Trippe's former properties) in the late 1980s. In the 1990s, he sold part of the Cotton Bay land to a Colombian billionaire, Luis Carlos Sarmiento, who uses the property as a "private hideaway" and has failed to invest in any development on the property. Wilson also began work on a new resort at Cotton Bay called Seashells, but the project has been at a complete standstill for almost a decade.

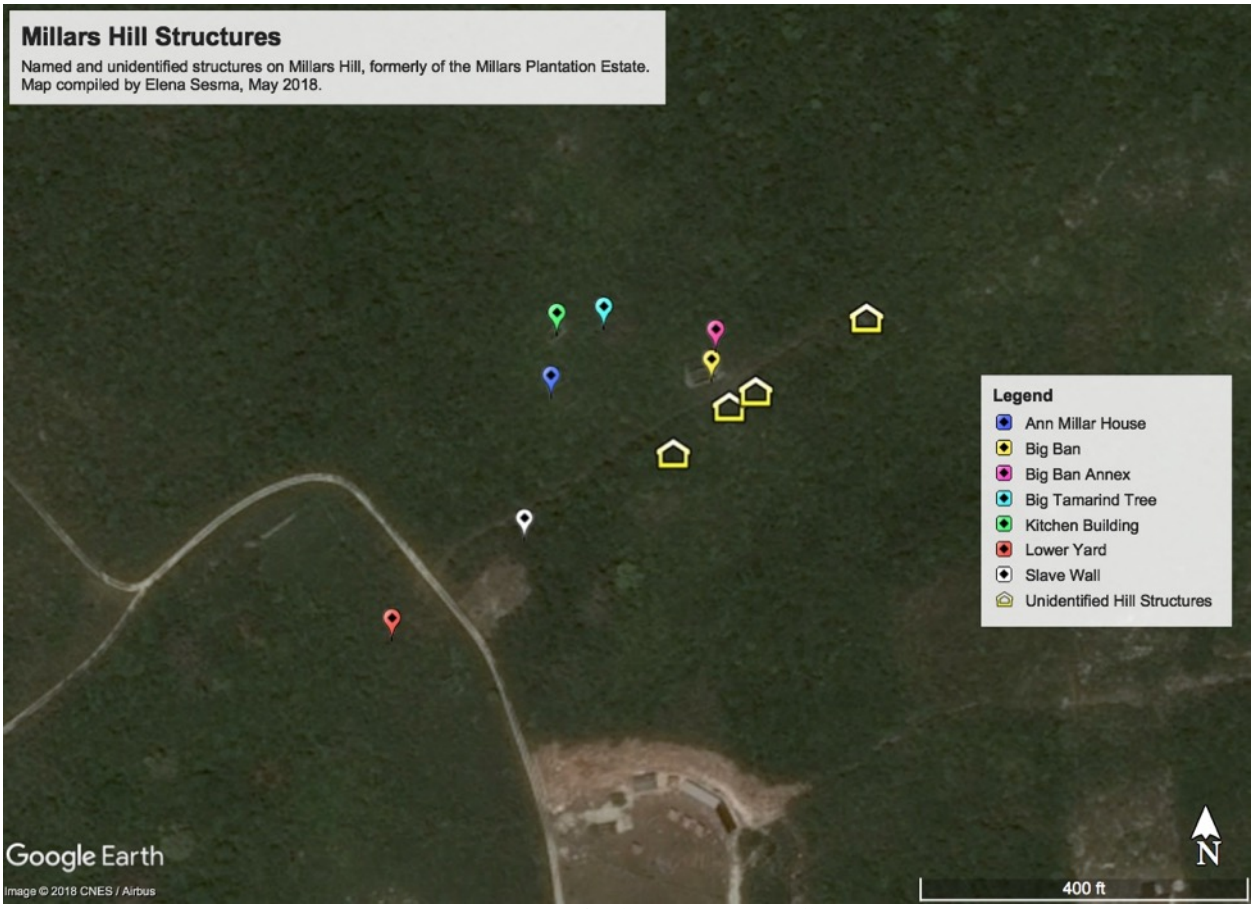
Beginning in the mid-1990s, locals began challenging Wilson in court, claiming that his purchase of South Eleutheran land violated their rights to the generation property they had claimed since the mid-nineteenth century. The Wemyss Bight Association filed a suit against Wilson's Eleuthera Properties, Ltd in the 1990s, arguing that Wilson did not have title to the land (that the original parcel of land that Davis acquired in the 1930s was a 99-year lease) and therefore he could not sell it or develop it. The suit remains unsettled.

In 2010, Eleuthera Properties, Ltd attempted to gain title to over 2,000 acres of land between Wemyss Bight and Millars, using the Quieting Titles Act. Soon after, the Bannerman Town, Millars and John Millars Eleuthera Association and several additional parties countered that 1) Wilson's claim to the land did not start with a rightful title, 2) they were the rightful owners of the property as they had received it as inheritance from the last owner of the acreage, Ann Millar, and 3) the community has long resided on and occupied the land in question, and therefore had possession of title (Hartnell 2014; CACB 2016). The Court has twice ruled against the descendant community, represented by the Association, first in 2014 and again in 2016.

Significant Sites of Memory and Potential Preservation

Millars Plantation Hill

The Millars Plantation Hill, hereafter referred to as "Millars Hill" is a key site of memory and potential site for preservation and conservation. Millars Hill is the seat of the former Ann Millar estate and would have been the center of the early nineteenth century plantation operation. There are several standing structures that remain on the hill, and the foundations of several others that have since been destroyed or consumed by vegetation. Of special note are Big Ban (sometimes referred to as the Slave Barn), the Ann Millar House, the kitchen building, and the Big Tamarind Tree. Big Ban is the largest structure on the hill and its name is sometimes used to refer to the entire Millars Plantation Hill.



Map 1. Map of Millars Plantation Hill.

Many questions remain about the standing structures on Millars Hill, but some of these could be answered through archaeological excavation, cross-referenced with oral histories and photo-elicitation with community elders. Presumably, following the patterns of plantation architecture in the Caribbean, the Millars Hill would have been the location for the plantation owner's and overseers house. The Millar Estate was overseen by Robert Millar through the late 1830s, while Ann and other family members may have resided in the family home on Shirley Street in Nassau. Some of the buildings on the Millars Hill were occupied by community elders and families through the 1980s when the last residents passed away or were relocated into new

homes at the base of the hill. The hill was kept cleared and well-manicured while residents remained in the buildings. Since residents left those homes, the vegetation has grown up around the area.

Below are excerpts of interviews and oral histories that focus on personal or community recollection of the Millars Hill:

> [We'd] run and play all about up in those places all the time. Used to play hide and seek in that place, what we call Big Barn. And the place where the slave owner, Ann Millar lived. Oh yeah, we used to play in her house. And even in the kitchen, where they cook for her. Because they have a built-in oven. I know it's not there now, I guess it's all rubble. But they had a big kitchen and an oven built in there, that I guess when it rained they still could bake bread in the oven.
> *Do you remember in Big Ban, [was there] a second floor in it?*
> Oh, no, no. I heard they said it had an upper deck. But no, no, I ain't remember that one. But they said it had an upper deck.
> *So when did people stop living up there?*
> Oh, people stop living up there, that was in the late 1970-something before they stop living. After the homes there get disrepaired. And then the people were old and they had to walk up that hill, so that's why they moved down further in the bottom. And then the houses what they build on, well that was stone buildings. The old structures are still there, but then they only build like a little clapboard place done because they already were old. Yeah, I remember. I remember them living up there. Yeah. I had my last child and the people were still living up there.

Figure 6. The road on Millars Hill. Facing southwest, towards Big Ban. June 2016.

It's very vivid. I remember as a little boy…we used to go up there, and it was an echo chamber up there. I don't think it's no longer, because I tried. As a little boy it was an echo chamber…

Right where Big Ban is, the same portion in the middle of the road. Once you shout out anything, it would bounce off the walls. I tried it since I move home, but [it doesn't do it anymore].

[People were living up there until] about the late '70s or early '80s. I can remember.
Now it's overgrown right now?
We had it manicured a few times, but it grew back up. We need funding to be able to maintain an area like that, because it's going to cost. It's a beautiful site. Actually, coming down you can see from there out to the sea and all of that. You've been there when it was going down? You see that view?
Yeah.
It's a beautiful view.
It is, it's amazing. We went up there, I think two years ago, right when it was being cleared. We walked through Big Ban by the kitchen building and Ann Millar's house. Then there's more further back, right?
There's more further back. It's just a matter of taking the time and having to cut a trail to all of them and really keep that ... I would like to see a mulch chip, try to keep the shrubs down with a mulch chipper right around the buildings, and being able to manicure a nice pathway, so you can be able to have access. All of that in time, I guess.
How many buildings are up there?
I think we counted about eight or nine structures. I think it's about eight or nine structures. Some of them are only foundation.

Ann Millar House

One of the structures on Millars Hill is commonly referred to as the Ann Millar House. There is no written or material record thus far to suggest that Ann Millar ever resided in this house, but oral history maintains that this is the appropriate name for the house. The structure sits on the southeastern edge of the hill, overlooking what community members call “N--- Yard”, hereafter called the Lower Yard in this report. Beyond the lower yard, the view from the back of the house includes the southeastern coast of the island and present-day Princess Cay (visible if the vegetation were cut lower). Pedestrian survey revealed the stone foundation of a small square structure which may have been a privy standing to the south of the house. The house itself is accessed by a short stairway on the eastern wall. The interior of the square structure would likely have been divided by interior walls. Today, the interior wooden floors, doors and rafters have collapsed and deteriorated.

Figure 7. West exterior wall of the Ann Millar house. August 2013.

Plantation architecture typically includes a "Big House" in which the plantation owner and their family resided. Bahamian plantations differed from other Caribbean and North American plantations in that the plantation-owning family did not generally reside at the plantation fulltime. Instead, many plantation owners resided primarily at a family home in New Providence, returning to the Family Island plantations to occasionally oversee production on their estates. Even still, most of these plantations had a "Big House" for the plantation owner. Millars Estate appears to differ. There is no visible "Big House" remaining on the landscape, and if oral history holds true that the Ann Millar house was home to Ann and her brother as plantation owners, then the house would be remarkably small for a planter's home. Although nicely situated on the edge of the Millars Hill with a view to the sea and pleasant breeze, the house is not significantly larger than many of the other domestic structures that appear to date to the plantation period.

Figure 8. View of the Ann Millar house (foreground, left) and the coast (background, right). Taken from above the Kitchen building. August 2013.

This house was occupied well into the twenty-first century. Several contemporary community members recall visiting family members who lived in this house when they were younger.

Figure 9. Resident of Millars and Nassau stands beside the Ann Millar House, also the home of her grandmother in the mid-twentieth century. August 2013

The Kitchen Building

Due north from the Ann Millar House is the kitchen building. Rock ovens were commonly used well into the mid-twentieth century. The kitchen building on the Millars Hill is unique because it has a stone oven built into the interior walls, allowing it to be used more comfortably during inclement weather. The structure remains standing today, although vegetation has crept inside and the wooden rafters, shutters and floor beams have collapsed. There is a stone and mortar rubble pile in the northwest corner of the building. Some stones remain in the shape of what was presumably the original rock oven, which had been mortared and stuccoed into place.

Figure 10. Errol McPhee of the Bannerman Town, Millars and John Millars Association walks past the kitchen building on the Millars Plantation hill, June 2016

A local Millars resident recalls memories of the indoor kitchen oven in use by locals, including her godmother:

> And I could remember that and she used to use the same kitchen to cook in because they had an oven built in there and like when it rains you could've still baked bread in the oven.
> *And all the other ovens were outside like the rock ovens?*
> Yes, yeah but they, they had a rock one inside. In the, like the kitchen was part, …it was a separate compartment and you could get the wood and you could heat the oven and everything. And you could bake right there.

Figure 11. Kitchen building, cleared of surrounding vegetation. August 2013

Big Tamarind Tree

Between Big Ban and the kitchen building is a large Tamarind Tree. It is the largest tree on the hill, towering over the younger growth, suggesting that it is in fact the oldest tree on Millars Hill. Oral histories suggest that this tree dates to the plantation era and was used as a whipping post for slaves. One community elder shared the following story about the tree and the clearing that would have stood around it when the hill was free of vegetation:

And they said that the Big Tamarind Tree, that was the Whipping Post. That was the Whipping Post, yeah. Because they said a big rock was there, but I never saw the rock. Probably the rock- I don't know whether some hurricane or whatever came, or whatever happened to the big rock but they say at a certain time every year a blood spot used to appear [on the rock]…. [but now] that rock is gone.

-Eleanor Rolle, Millars

Figure 12. The Big Tamarind Tree. Right: Seen from a clearing west of Big Ban. August 2013. Below. The Big Tamarind Tree during drought, May 2017.

Big Ban

The largest structure on Millars Hill is Big Ban, alternatively referred to as Big Barn or the Slave Barn. It is unclear what purpose Big Ban served, although one of its names is suggestive as a storage place. Oral histories sometimes conflict, but the most common interpretation is that the building was used for storage during the plantation period.

The architecture of Big Ban is unique due to its stature, construction, and placement, all of which make it difficult to pinpoint its purpose. The structure was built onto an outcropping of bedrock on the hilltop. The Barn is oriented southwest-northeast and would have faced outward onto the road which ascends the hill from the Lower Yard and continues northeast. The main portion of Big Ban stands approximately two stories tall with a pitched roof that would have created a small upper deck or loft space. There is a doorway on either end of the building, with a third doorway and window facing out onto the road. There is one window high in the center of the northeast wall, which appears to have small slats cut into the upper sill that may have allowed for some kind of shutter or bars placed within the window.

The rear (north) of the building appears to be a later addition due to the slight difference in stone and mortar color, size, and texture, as well as the appearance of a faint seam in the stucco on the exterior wall. This portion of the building is only one story. There are doors on either end of the building, one exterior window and two windows facing into the larger room of the Barn. On the southwest exterior wall of the annex are a series of holes cut into the stone walls.

Figure 15. Big Ban, or the Slave Barn, Millars Plantation hill, August 2013.

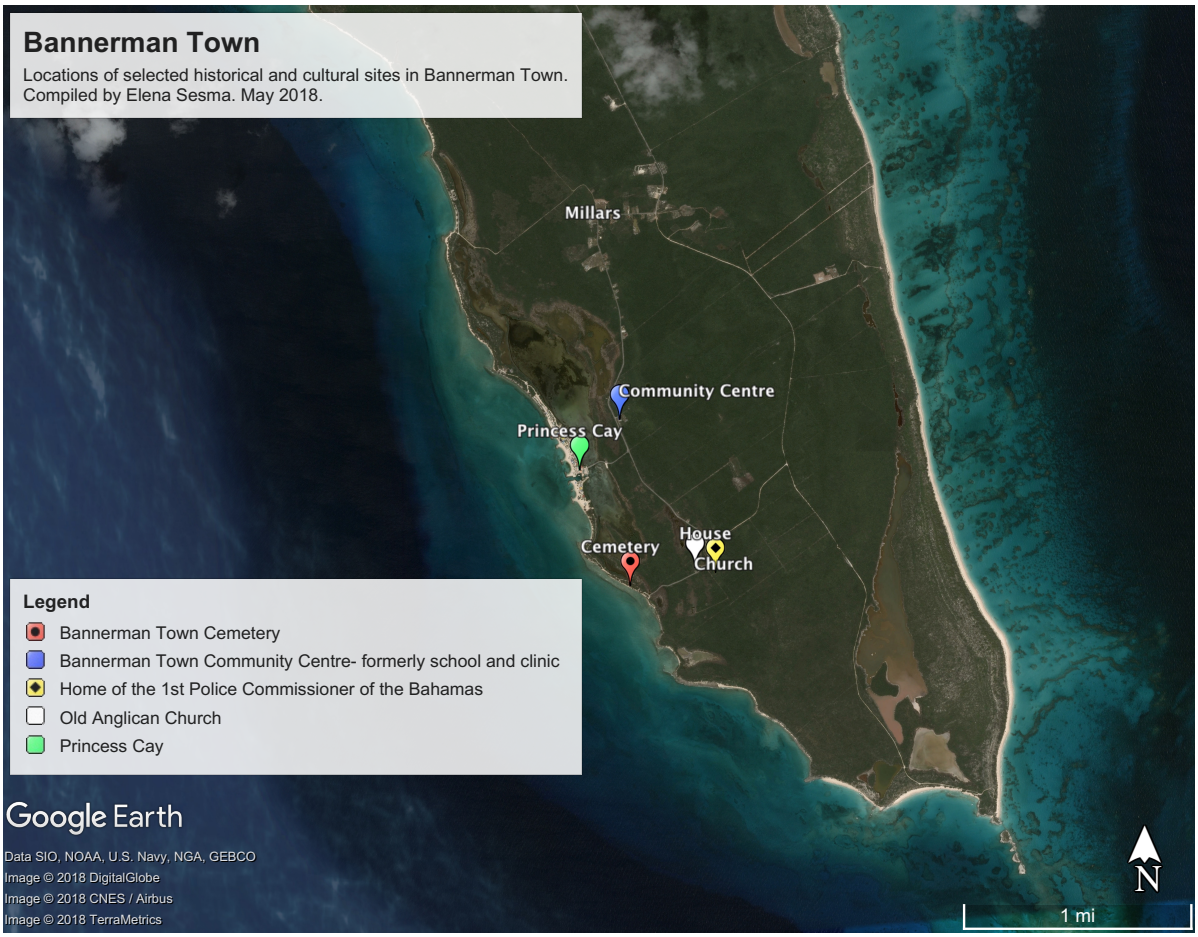
Figure 14. Interior of Big Ban, facing southwest wall. June 2017.

Figure 13. Exterior of southwest wall. Left, the rear addition. Interior wall and window visible inside the left doorway.June 2017.

Figure 16. Top: Ship graffiti on interior wall of Big Ban. Bottom: Detail of ship graffiti outlined in black.

One of the most interesting features of Big Ban is the ship graffiti on the interior walls of the building. In several areas of the larger room are etchings of small boats and large ships that appear to be scratched into the stucco. According to interview participants, there were even more etchings in previous decades, but many have crumbled off the walls as the stucco continues to degrade and chip off the wall. One participant hypothesized that the drawings were meant to communicate, keep track of time, passing ships, arriving ships, ship wrecks and even perhaps casualties of such wrecks. The clearest etchings remain inside the window casings of interior windows. Ship graffiti has appeared in many other plantation-era buildings throughout the Bahamas, including at Clifton Plantation on New Providence, and additional plantations on San Salvador, Abaco and Turks & Caicos (Turner 2006).

Bannerman Town



Map 2. Map of Bannerman Town.

Bannerman Town is the southernmost settlement on the island of Eleuthera. The settlement was named for Alexander Bannerman, Governor of the Bahamas from 1854-1857. According to popular memory, it was once a large and bustling community and served people from throughout South Eleuthera due to its agricultural productivity and convenient ports that served the mailboats and shipping vessels that ran between islands and especially to New Providence. Today, Bannerman Town is empty of residents, but contains two active churches, the newly opened community center and the privately-owned Princess Cays (now operated by Carnival Cruiseline).

Bannerman Town is often mislabeled on maps and even street signs, and today is often used to refer to the entire southernmost region of the island (including Millars Settlement). In fact, Bannerman Town's northern boundary falls approximately at the St. Mary the Virgin Anglican Church. The center of the late 19th century Bannerman Town sits on a hill further to the south. Many of the structures are still visible through the bush and some of the taller buildings are visible from the main road and the old Anglican Church. Both Bannerman Town and Millars were once large enough to have distinct communities or neighborhoods and one such space in Bannerman Town was Criggly Hill. Mr. Cecil Williams describes the extent of these communities:

But this same Bannerman Town community, it never changed. It's just that we had different spots- Millars. This Millars. Right here, where I was born. And way up another mile, that's Bannerman Town. But in the meantime, we only had one school and one community and when you write a letter, they send it to Bannerman Town. But we had different names for these communities.

-Cecil Williams, Millars

Oral histories and popular memory often refer to Bannerman Town as a large, productive, and cosmopolitan community. Due to the accessible ports at the southernmost end of the island, Bannerman Town became a gateway community to the rest South Eleuthera and beyond. Mailboats and trade vessels would often stop in the area, meaning that Bahamians from many other islands arrived and sometimes stayed in the area after docking. One participant describes the activity:

> You remember, this settlement, Millars and Bannerman Town and John Millar's, these were the largest community in Eleuthera back in those days, mainly because of the accessible points for trading. Nobody had money back then. It was just trading and goods, so you had Cat Island, you had Long Island, you had Ragged Island, Exuma. Everybody come over, and they would meet at this point. We had about at least five docks standing from Lighthouse point, so they would dock up, and they would come off and trade. That's how we have a combination of persons that's from other islands, because they come, they maybe see a woman they like and go back. That's how they get to mix up.
> This point, there was no communication, so others who live on the other end of the island, they come here waiting on the mail boat and end up staying and never going back, because you come, you're just coming and taking a chance. It maybe come in two weeks, it maybe come in two months, it maybe come in six months, but you stay here with people you don't know, and then after that you don't go back. This community was large; you see the structures throughout the bush. You still see the structures of where people lived, but because of the economic downturn, everybody had to move out...

Indeed, the community was large and wide-spread. Many residents of South and Central Eleuthera today trace their ancestry back to Bannerman Town and to Millars. In many ways, these two settlements were the birthplaces of South Eleuthera. The families named in Ann Millar's 1871 will resided in this region for decades, and many individuals ultimately married and had children with those who arrived via the ports in Bannerman Town.

Many people lived up that way, they lived all the way ... If you should go up there, you should see the houses a good ways over in the bushes, where they used to live.

And do you know a lot of people in Wemyss Bight, Rock Sound, all those people descend from Bannerman Town. A whole lot of families. A whole lot.

Figure 17. Above: Signs at the Bannerman Town, Millars and John Millars Homecoming, citing two individuals named in Ann Millar's will as inheritors of the former Millars Estate acreage

Bannerman Town is remembered today for its large community, but few people today were alive to witness it as such. Many of the Family Islands went through severe economic downturns and famine at the end of the nineteenth century, forcing many residents to relocate to Nassau or the United States in search of work that could support them and their families. Bannerman Town was no exception, and many of those who left during these waves of economic emigration never returned. Within the first quarter of the twentieth century, the town had diminished in size and by the mid-century, it was empty. Cecil Williams, who was born in 1929, remembers Bannerman Town through his father's memory: "Now it's empty. But you know, they was leaving before my time. There were men who would've been my daddy's [age]- they left. Yeah, you know, unemployment stuff caused a lot of it."

Another participant describes the economic flight out of the southern end of the island: "I know my great, my grandaddy used to tell me we had a famine here…Nobody had no food, nothing like that. It was a severe drought… [and] things get rough. [When] the famine come on, most of the people left and, oh a lot of people from Bannerman Town and John Millars went and lived in Liberty City in Florida. Yeah, lot of them went and the homestead area over there in Florida. They left [and] they never came back. Never came back because they said, "oh we ain't going back home to starve no more. No, we come over to the land of plenty." So they ain't going home no more. That's how everyone just dwindle away."

> *The people start leaving Bannerman Town... that was way down in the 30s. In the 30s and the 20s. You know, everybody start- some went to, most of them went to the States. The United States. Oh, a lot of people from Bannerman Town in the United States. And during the time with the contract, a lot of them went and didn't come back. It was rough, but thank God we made it through.*
>
> *-Charles Rolle, Millars*

Most of the community institutions in Bannerman Town have now closed, including churches and the school. Residents of Millars and surrounding settlements fondly remember the primary school in Bannerman Town, but the school closed several decades ago. Young people in Millars are now bussed to the Wemyss Bight Primary School. The old Bannerman Town school was reopened as a community center and library by the One Eleuthera Foundation. Still, the center has not yet become a focal point of the community and often remains shuttered because of the lack of staff to assist in daily operations and management. One Millars resident observes that the loss of the primary school took a serious toll on the community:

> *If we only could get our school back- because the day when our school closed, I said, well Bannerman Town is no more on the map. I have it written down in my big Bible. This day's a sad day for Bannerman Town, I say. We are no more on the map because when your school dies- there's no school in the settlement, there ain't no settlement, you know what I mean? Because each settlement have a school, you know? … We had three churches here. Right now there's only one church because why? Because the old man who was the head of the Baptist church, okay he died. And the people who used to go to his church- most of them died. Well all died who used to go but then at that time, most did move away and went to Nassau. Well, the Church of God, they still have members here, but from the last hurricane we had here, it damaged their church. They ain't never fix it, you know what I mean? So, it just make you feel as if the place is deteriorating, you know, instead of getting better.*
>
> *-Eleanor Rolle, Millars*

Bannerman Town Anglican Church

The old Bannerman Town Anglican Church, founded in 1871, is one of the churches that now sits empty and in disrepair in this area. It is also one of the more monumental structures on the landscape, with its bell towers, high walls, interior columns and intact altar. To the west of the church sits the remains of the rectory. The magnificent and relatively-intact architecture of this church has made it a featured stop on dune-buggy excursions from Princess Cay and for tourist groups in general. Graffiti on the interior walls bear the names of many individuals who have visited the church and scratched a mark into the stucco. Although this church has been closed and unused for several decades, the newer St. Mary the Virgin Anglican Church now stands further north on the edge of Bannerman Town and Millars. This church is one of several that comprises the South Eleuthera Anglican Parish, seated at St. Luke's Church in Rock Sound.

Figure 18. Left: Exterior of church from dirt driveway, June 2016; Right: Interior of church, facing the altar, June 2017

Home of the first Police Commissioner of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Bannerman Town

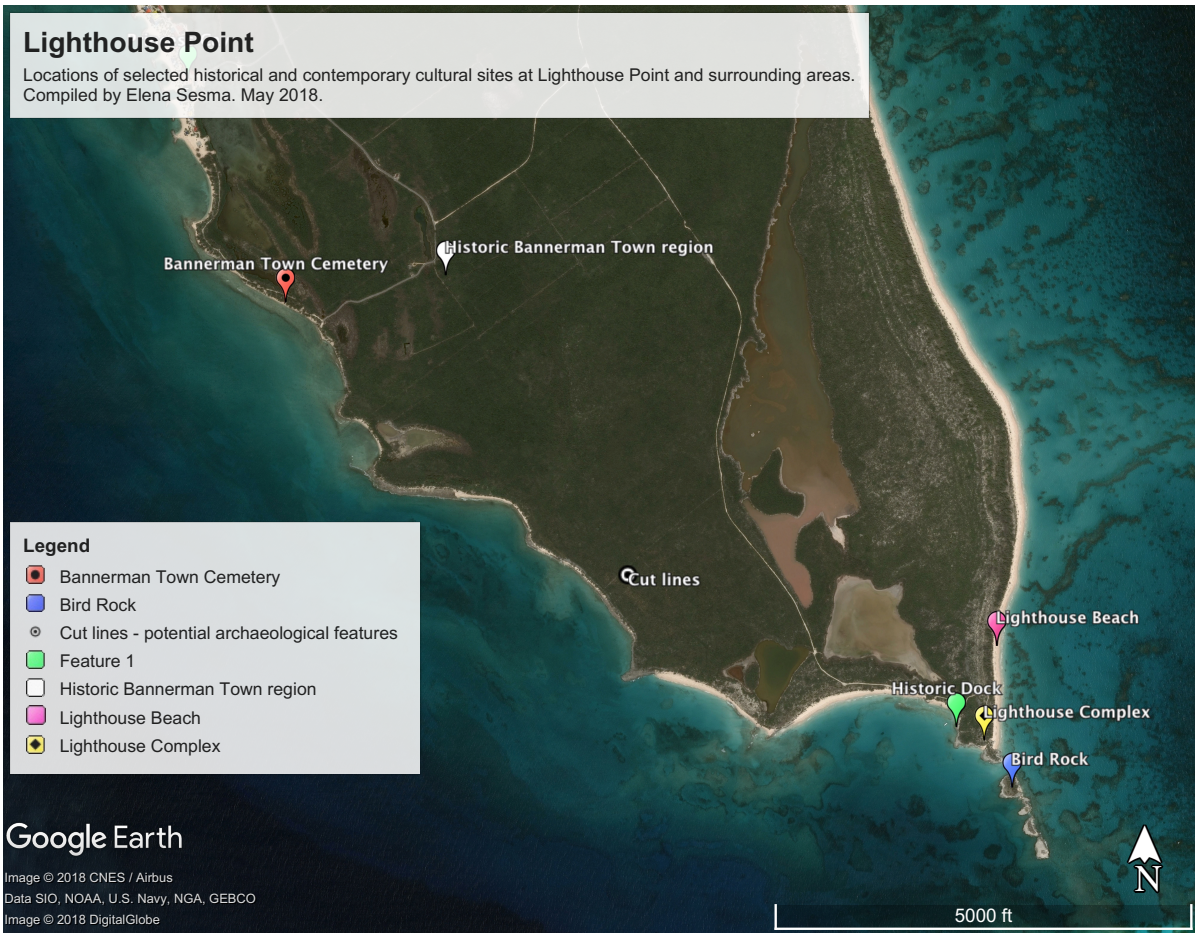
One of the many abandoned houses in the Bannerman Town area was the home of the first Police Commissioner of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. The house is now difficult to access because of the overgrowth of vegetation, but is located to the north of one of the old track roads that runs south from Bannerman Town towards Lighthouse Point. This particular track road curves west to a L-shaped water cistern.

> *This community was large; you see the structures throughout the bush. You still see the structures of where people lived, but because of the economic downturn, everybody had to move out. Some very educated intervention people moved out of this area that lived here, and our first Bahamian commissioner, Salathiel Thompson was born here.*
>
> *-George Bullard, Millars*

The square house would have been divided into four rooms. The stone and stucco exterior walls remain mostly intact, including window frames and some fragments of the shutters. Rafters, floors, and interior wooden walls are still partly intact, making it easier to determine the interior layout of the house. However, more intensive survey or archaeological excavation would be useful to learn more about the structure and its inhabitants in the first quarter of the twentieth century, including a surface survey around the structure.

Figure 19 Interior of Salathiel Thompson family house. Interior dividing wall visible at left. June 2017.

Lighthouse Point



Map 3. Lighthouse Point.

Lighthouse Point is one of the most unique settings on Eleuthera, remarkable for its ecological diversity and its significant role in the cultural heritage of the island. It has played important cultural and economic roles for the people of South Eleuthera throughout the centuries thanks to its ecology and its geographic location at the southernmost tip of the island where the Atlantic meets the Bight of Eleuthera. Others have written on the ecological value of the area, so the following sections serve to contextualize Lighthouse Point in relation to the communities of South Eleuthera over the past two centuries through oral history, ethnographic observation, and pedestrian survey of standing structures and material culture.

Wrecking at LP, and wrecking as a major economy on Eleuthera in the past

There is a deep history of wrecking in Eleuthera and Lighthouse Point plays an important role in that story (Powles 1996; Craton and Saunders 1992; Turner 2006). Lighthouse Point juts into the water where the Atlantic and Bahamian waters meet. The reef on the northern Atlantic side of the island is famously called the Devil's Backbone, creating an ideal spot for collecting goods washed ashore from shipwrecks in the greater marine area. Many residents of the southern settlements have memories and family stories of taking advantage of wrecks in the area. One participant shared stories of her father coming back from Lighthouse Point after going diving out to the wrecks in the bay and bringing back china, glass, and little artifacts from wrecked ships.

Utilizing natural resources

Due in part to the ecological uniqueness of Lighthouse point, many South Eleutherans are able to take advantage of the abundance of natural resources to secure their livelihoods and provide for families. Two common examples are fishing and gathering silver top palms for crafts. Many residents of Millars and John Millars have stories of fishing at Lighthouse Point and the surrounding beaches, noting that different areas are ideal for catching different kinds of fish. Additionally, some elders recall visiting the small cays at Lighthouse when they were very young to gather bird eggs. Community elders also remember walking to Lighthouse Point from Millars before the paved road was extended that far south and while the area was more populated. Other residents still routinely visit Lighthouse Point to gather silvertop palms for plaiting and other craftwork. In these cases, most straw crafts are sold to tourists at Princess Cay and other destinations.

Creating and preserving community space on the island-

Lighthouse Point is also frequently thought of as a community space. It has long held important cultural value to residents of the southern settlements as a place for gathering with family and friends during holidays, special occasions, or simply nice days. Beaches are commonly held as community spaces; places for social gathering and celebration. They are valued resources for the reasons mentioned in the previous section as well as for the peaceful sanctuary and gathering space they provide when most settlements don't have their own recreation centers, meeting spaces or banquet halls that are big enough to support large community groups at once. Probably due to this shared respect for these community beaches, residents have long shared a communal attitude towards taking care of the environment and doing their best to maintain the infrastructure that allows access to and enjoyment of these spaces.

These residents of Millars describe their memories of visiting Lighthouse Beach for large community celebrations, remembering how the people collectively cared for this shared space:

> *My children [ask me], you remember every [Emancipation Day in] August, we would go on the beach? We would either go out that way and the beach was good beach then. The people took care of it. But now, right now out there, nobody take care. Everything is just dirty and grown up and everything. The roads, the people and them kept the road clean. It wasn't paved but it was so good and passable, cut way back, you know?... And we would go up to Lighthouse Beach. We would go either to the Point or we'll go to the other one, half way. What we would call Baker's Beach. Either one, just which one you wanted to go because sometime during the holidays would be rough because over this way is rough. That wouldn't be good beaching because the surf would be too rough and then you go on the next side. But it was very nice. And then there's a lot of coconut trees over there, you can get good coconut water and things. And people used to cut a lot of tops to make baskets and things.*
>
> *-Eleanor Rolle, Millars*

Figure 20. A wooden swing hangs in the pines beneath the Lighthouse Point cliffs. August 2013.

I love it out there. I used to go out there and spend the day. When I first moved back, I went out there one time, and after I saw how it was set up I took my saw, I took my compass, I took a hammer and some nails, and I built a nice little area touching the trees, the cedar trees, a nice little structure I built on top, right underneath the little ... If you walk out to the beach, right underneath the little cave area I built there. Then I start going out there to just hang out. A couple of times I reach out there, and the tourists is enjoying [it] ... I don't say anything, enjoy.

-George Bullard, Millars

Community members don't want to thwart tourists from visiting Lighthouse Point. In fact, many residents are happy to share this community space they hold so dear and look forward to welcoming visitors into their community as they pass through on their way to the beach. The desire in this case is to maintain Lighthouse Point as an open, public space that is accessible to all.

It is another reason why many South Eleutherans voice concern over the threat of losing yet another community space to private ownership or foreign development. One interview participant voiced concern about the loss of community lands to private investment all across the island. Once these lands were accessible and used by many people, but so often this private property now sits untouched even by those who own it. Furthermore, this participant expressed some distrust of government officials and investors who claim that development is in the best interest to local communities when so often these developments bring in cash to international companies but not to residents who depend on the land they now struggle to access.

This has been a serious concern around Princess Cay, which sits on the coast of Bannerman Town and was leased by the government to international developers and tourism-based companies. Locals eagerly await cruise ship arrivals at the port, preparing crafts to sell both in and outside the gated complex. Few vendors have reaped the promised rewards of this development. The community at large has also lost access to a popular beach that many residents fondly remember visiting in their youth as it was close to homes in Millars and Bannerman Town.

One of the biggest challenges to preserving Lighthouse Point as a usable community space is the issue of accessibility and road maintenance. There are two routes that lead to Lighthouse Point; one leads due south from Queens Highway and the other follows the road through Millars and Bannerman Town before turning north onto a rocky dirt road that eventually meets the Queens Highway route. Either option requires navigating eroded pavement and rocky paths, sandtraps, water-filled gullies and overgrown vegetation, and a little bit of trust in choosing the correct unmarked road. While the difficulty of accessing the Point helps protect the area from overuse and high traffic, it also prevents local residents and tourists alike from safely finding the beach and lighthouse. By some accounts, the poor condition of the roads is the fault of failing government infrastructure. One interview participant describes the situation:

The Lighthouse Beach is such a beautiful beach. And I hate to see how the government, or whoever has allowed the road to become so derelict and so unpassable. I've been speaking to people about it who I feel like is in position. I feel like they really should do something with the road because tourists go up there all the time. Plus it's a nice beach, the natives would like to go up there sometime, so at least fix the road. Make it passable so people could go out there. That's something I would really like to see accomplished… I feel like more [tourists] would come through. But imagine ... just say you have a nice vehicle, you rent your vehicle, and then they go up there, they broke up your stuff. I feel like that's one area the government really needs to look into because it's profitable to the whole community. Not just Bannerman Town, but you would have people [across the island who see it in] the visitors' guide… So now just say a visitor in Harbor Island: "Oh, I would like to see that place before I leave." And then when you reach up there, ain't no [way].

-Resident of Wemyss Bight

Archaeological remains: Lighthouse Point and surrounding areas

There are several standing structures and evidence of more architectural features at Lighthouse Point. The most obvious is the lighthouse complex, consisting of the lighthouse building, cistern, active light beacon, and small unidentified outbuilding. The buildings are in varying states of disrepair, but archaeological survey of the area might reveal more information about the construction and use of these buildings and of the people who built and worked in this space. The Lighthouse Building, with its white stucco and green windows is an iconic image in South Eleuthera tourism marketing, but the only active architectural feature of the complex is the revolving light beacon which stands to the south of the building.

Figure 21. (Above) The Lighthouse.

Figure 22. (Left) The rear of the Lighthouse, light beacon.

The history of shipping and trade can also be traced through Lighthouse Point's former docks. On the western side of the point is a small bay with calm waters. There are several wooden piers driven into the sea floor beside a cracked-cement-covered rock outcropping that presumably once supported one of the many docks in the Bannerman Town and Millars area.

Figure 23. Concrete remains of a dock, center.

Lighthouse Point sits due south from Bannerman Town and as such, the road leading into the area passes the architectural remains of some of this settlement's former houses and outbuildings, and many stone-marked boundary lines. Archaeological survey would be difficult in this area due to the vegetation overgrowth, but it may be possible to use a pedestrian survey or windshield survey to at least partially record some of the archaeological features using GPS. Drone photography or LiDar may enable additional identification from above of sites and features through the dense vegetation.

Hartford

Between John Millars and Wemyss Bight is the nineteenth century settlement of Hartford. The settlement has been uninhabited since the early twentieth century. One interview participant who now splits her time between her home in Nassau and Wemyss Bight recalls that she was the very last child to be born in Hartford and by that point (1930s), most of the settlement had emptied out. Hartford remains a piece of community memory, as many residents have heard stories about the place or have been through the now overgrown bush to see the few structures that still remain on the land. There is relatively little information about Hartford when it was fully populated, but oral history suggests that it was once a slave-holding plantation and the descendants of the enslaved continued to live in the area after emancipation.

The remains of Hartford are accessible via the old track road that runs between John Millars in the south, and the Wemyss Bight Village road. Like many track roads in the South, this access point is overgrown and may be difficult to follow and locals regularly warn that any buildings that remain would be difficult to find beneath the overgrown vegetation. Future archaeological survey would be useful to identify and record the location of any remaining features.

Regional Archaeological Features

There are a variety of archaeological features across the South Eleuthera landscape which are detailed in the following section. The majority of these date roughly to the plantation period, or the early-mid-nineteenth centuries. Although these features are commonly found throughout the island and South Eleuthera, here they are discussed in relation to the region running from Wemyss Bight in the north to Bannerman Town in the south. The fact that many features remain standing is a testament to the durability and engineering of these 19th century structures, as well as the respect with which local communities treat these materials.

Slave Walls

Commonly referred to as "slave walls," these stone walls were historically used to mark property boundaries and distinguish fields throughout South Eleuthera. Many walls still stand on the landscape and can be found throughout the settlements, parallel or perpendicular to paved roads, running into the creek and wetlands, through farm fields, behind houses, schools and churches, and out to beaches. According to oral history, these objects are called "slave walls" because the slave population of the early nineteenth century were forced to build a series of boundary lines across the landscape to delineate property lines and other spatial zones within the plantation property. Interviews have not determined how or when they were built, but people speak of the slaves who first laid these stones with great awe and admiration. For many, the slave walls offer an ancestral connection to the enslaved populations who were held in bondage across South Eleuthera, including at the Millars Estate. To know that the community's ancestors built these stone walls that still stand on the landscape after all these years can grant a sense of personal and familial strength and determination to stay connected to the land that was gifted to them through the generations.

Figure 24. Slave wall (background) crosses the Creek near the Millars cemetery. August 2015.

> *Yeah, back then it was means of boundary lines marking different property. From there, what I tell you, if you are able to go in the bush you're going to see the slave walls. Most of the people move rocks and stuff now, but it ran straight out to the sea and straight up this way to the sea. Then you will see it from the Anglican church, that that's where the [Millars] thousand acres is. From the Anglican church, it goes straight over to Princess Cay straight out to the sea and straight to the ocean side. All is boundary marked. When you go out to Millar's Bay, you see it from all different sections.*
>
> *-George Bullard, Millars*

Figure 26. A slave wall cuts through a small farm in John Millars. June 2016

Over the years, these slave walls have begun to deteriorate through natural and man-made causes. Some of the stone walls have been altered, destroyed, or removed in the process of daily routines over the years, including agricultural practices, hurricane damage, the use of large construction machinery, or through the intentional dismantling and reuse of stones for construction of new houses and retaining walls. All of this illustrates how the landscape has undergone constant evolution, and the objects on it have been repeatedly reused for new purposes essential to life on this island. Even as these stones are dismantled and put to other uses, their place and meaning on the landscape remain a significant connection to the past and to the legacy of enslaved and free ancestors who left them there in the first place.

Figure 25. A partially disassembled slave wall on Millars Hill. June 2017.

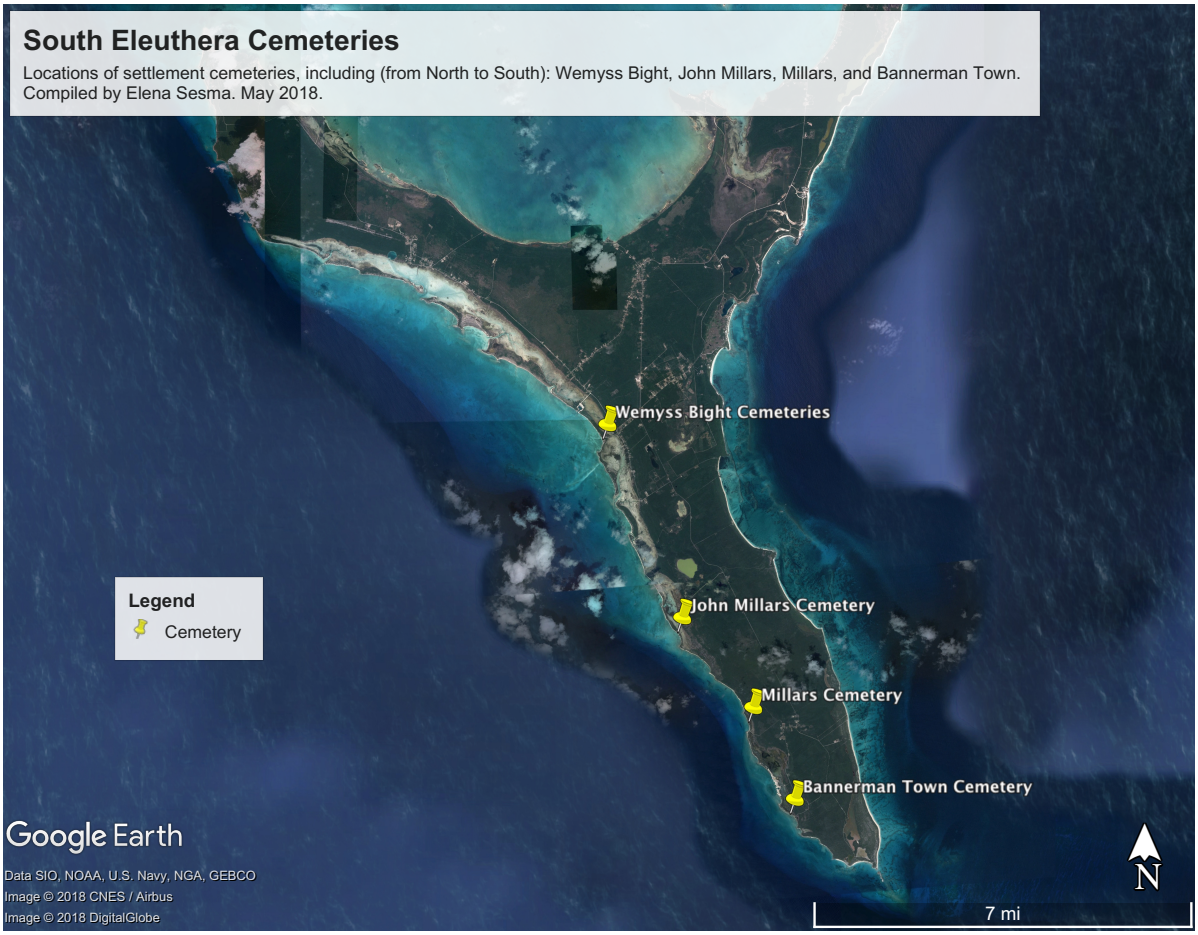
Most of these walls were, when I say high- I think I could show you. But you know what happen? Over the years, people start building. From all over the town, and they would just get truck-loads of these rocks. They truck out the nice shaped rocks, that the slaves had to do. And they take them away. Where the boundaries with our property going now, high walls go straight through. Where the slaves had to- throughout the land here in Bannerman Town. This wall- these people probably partner up when they divide the lands, so they use walls. And the poor slaves had to build all those walls for them.

-Errol McPhee, Millars

The slave walls are common features on the landscape but are historically important markers for understanding land use and community association to the area. It may be useful to conduct a survey of the walls across the region to mark and geo-tag their locations. It may not be necessary to preserve all of the walls, as they are in a cycle of continuous use and reuse by community members; however the locations of the walls would be useful for recording historical land use.

Cemeteries

Cemeteries are important cultural and historical sites in South Eleuthera, and are also highly susceptible to damage by natural, ecological forces. Most cemeteries sit along the coastline, protected by low stone walls (similar to the slave walls). Cemeteries are useful for gauging the size of settlements today and in the past, as well as for understanding ethics of community care. Many gravesites were historically decorated with items for the deceased and maintained by loved ones. This practice has faded over time, due in part to a pattern of these goods disappearing. Some graves were built as rock or cemented tombs at or above ground level, while others appear to be entirely placed underground.



Map 4. Cemeteries of South Eleuthera, including Wemyss Bight, John Millars, Millars, and Bannerman Town

Wemyss Bight Cemetery

The Wemyss Bight Cemetery sits on either side of the road that leads to the Wemyss Bight beach. There are two separate burying grounds surrounded by white stucco walls. The Wemyss Bight beach is in constant use for personal, family and community events, and so the cemeteries are often a common backdrop and are more frequently seen and tended to.

Figure 27. Northern side of the Wemyss Bight Cemetery. May 2016.

John Millars Cemetery

The John Millars Cemetery sits to the south of the small settlement and is accessible by foot via a small stone pathway that crosses the creek to the beach. The cemetery is lined by a dark stone wall, called a slave wall by local residents. The interior of the cemetery is sandy, and several low headstones sit throughout, marked occasionally by short flowering shrubs and various glass and ceramic grave goods. At least one resident of John Millars regularly visits the cemetery to tend to the graves of her parents and to clean up the area.

Figure 28. John Millars cemetery, facing southwest. May 2016.

Millars Cemetery

The location of the Millars cemetery sits due west from the settlement, accessible via a track road that cuts through former agricultural fields and across the creek to the coastline. The cemetery is lined by dark stone walls, similar to the slave walls. The area is surrounded by tall casuarina pines and several large trees, shrubs and sea grapes grow inside the cemetery. A few graves are marked by cement tombs that rise out of the ground, while others are marked by dark head and footstones.

Figure 29. Millars Cemetery, facing northeast. June 2017.

Bannerman Town Cemetery

The location of the Bannerman Town cemetery is south of Princess Cay, and due west from the old Bannerman Town Anglican Church. It is accessible by a sandy road that leads north from the paved road that runs from Millars settlement to the beach. The cemetery was badly damaged by Hurricane Floyd. The stone walls closest to the water have disappeared, either eroding into the sea or dispersing across the beach during a strong storm surge. Only a few recognizable graves remain; cracked stone and cement tombs and headstones sit close to the water line. Several trees have fallen in and across the cemetery area, and a thick accumulation of sand and pine needles completely cover the interior ground of the cemetery. The remaining walled-cemetery is large in size, suggesting a large population at Bannerman Town's peak.

Figure 30. Bannerman Town Cemetery wall deteriorating onto the beach. June 2017.

Preservation concerns

The Bannerman Town cemetery is in dire need of further study, and if possible, preservation. The site is no longer in use for burials, and therefore is not frequently attended to. The site is vulnerable to storm damage, rising sea level, and routine erosion. Without intervention, this site is in danger of disappearing completely. Archaeological survey or GIS-mapping would be useful to completely document the site, record its site and any remaining features, including headstones, markers, walls, or any material culture associated with the graves.

Figure 31. Headstone and damaged grave near water's edge in the Bannerman Town cemetery.

Due to the proximity of these cemeteries to the coastline, it is worth considering protective measure in case of sea-level rise and intensified storm surges due to climate change. The Millars, John Millars, and Wemyss Bight cemeteries are at an advantage due to the position of the sites on raised ground and the protective vegetation surrounding the walls.

The Impact of Tourism on South Eleuthera

Tourism had a major impact on South Eleuthera throughout the mid-late twentieth century. Many people in the region were employed in construction, hospitality and domestic service at Cape Eleuthera and the Cotton Bay Club. As these hotels and homes closed, people were left without work, and many of the settlements suffered economic decline. Some settlements saw populations decrease as people left in search of jobs, which were lacking in the more remote areas of the south.

Figure 32. Local vendors outside Princess Cay (Bannerman Town) on the day of Carnival Cruise's first visit, June 2017.

In recent decades, cruise tourism at Princess Cay and Half Moon Cay has brought some employment to the South. Many people take the boat to work daily at Half Moon Cay. Others produce crafts to sell at these ports, as well as further north to Harbour Island and even Nassau. Even with the economic boost from cruise tourism, the season can be short and irregular, leaving people without regular or steady employment. Princess Cay, especially, has not brought as much economic opportunity and employment as originally expected. Carnival Cruiselines took over management of Princess Cay in 2017, and many local residents hoped that the change would increase tourist traffic and income in the southernmost settlements of the island. It remains to be seen whether the change in ownership has brought such benefits to residents and employees. Over the past few years, there has been some work happening at Seashells and the new Cotton Bay, although progress is slow and many people suspect that the development may still be years off.

Changing Landscapes – Agriculture to Tourism

> *This area, like I tell you, was a farming area. They used to raise a lot of corn, peas, bean, and have them dried. And there's people in certain part of the Bahamas never had no crop like corn, peas, and that was what delivered. It ain't like today you get all kinds of things to buy at the shop. No. Now I could tell you a couple things that was in the shop. No meat, nothing like that was in the shop. It could've been like in some parts of Nassau you could find a shop that sell meat. But it wasn't too popular. I go to Nassau when I was 18[4], you had to toe a line about 100 feet around on Sunday morning to buy a chicken. To buy one chicken… you had to toe the line until you get to the seller and sometimes when you get there, there ain't no more. All gone. To get one chicken. And you know where that chicken used to come from? Hatchet Bay, Eleuthera. That's when I was 18, I went to Nassau. And Eleuthera, then, was the tip top breadbasket for the Bahamas. The only place where they had chicken, eggs, milk and ice cream. From Hatchet Bay to Nassau.*
>
> *-Cecil Williams, Millars*

[4] Based on the age of Cecil Williams at the time of this interview, this memory refers to events in the late 1940s.

Figure 33. Farm near John Millars. May 2016. Photo: Elena Sesma

South Eleuthera's modern history is rooted in agriculture. The island was settled in the very late eighteenth century, predominantly by the recently arrived Loyalist planter class. By the start of the nineteenth century, the island was marked by several large plantations. South Eleuthera, and the Millars Estate in particular, was producing cotton for decades after the collapse of the cotton crop elsewhere in the Bahamas. Later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, agricultural production shifted from cotton to other cash crops which could be processed and packaged for export around and outside of the Bahamas, including pineapple and tomato especially. There were packinghouses spread throughout the southern settlements, especially for processing and packing tomatoes. Some of these structures remain standing or in various states of disrepair, but the oral history commonly accounts for this era of agricultural production.

Many interview participants refer to family land and farms that they or their ancestors worked in the past. These sites are widespread throughout the region, which can make it difficult to preserve and commemorate the agricultural history as there is no singular representative site that might demonstrate the diverse roles of agriculture in South Eleuthera. Additionally, much of the land that may appear to be unused in the region remains in constant, if rotating, use by residents who maintain small farms and garden plots and use the land for hunting, crabbing and fishing. The land is in constant use, and those who use it for farming and hunting have an intimate knowledge of the land and its changing ecologies, and they practice unique ways of land management in order to capitalize on the island's natural bounty.

> *If you work this year to this place, you don't go back to that same place the next year. You leave the land, like how it says in the Bible, so that the land could recompose itself, and you go a different part. Well when that land grows back up and it's time to work again, somebody else might go and work it, but everybody work the same place.*
>
> *-Eleanor Rolle, Millars*

Some of these land management traditions can be traced at least back as far as the late plantation era when Robert Millar wrote of yearly crop rotation and burning old fields to eradicate damaging pests and to enrich the soil. In 1835, Millar wrote for the Journal of the Bahama Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge about the methods by which his plantation was still producing cotton several decades after the crop had failed elsewhere. These methods, which included crop rotation, delayed planting, application of manure to fields, uprooting and burning of plants each season were aimed at preventing devastation by caterpillars and Cotton Bugs. Incidentally, burning fields and crop residues would have helped strengthen thin or depleted soils on agricultural lands. Farmers today still rely on versions of these methods, practicing slash and

burn, pothole farming[5], and field rotation systems to manage their garden and farm fields. Some interview participants describe other methods of fertilizing agricultural fields; collecting guano from potholes and caves spread throughout the region.

South Eleuthera was a strong agricultural area throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and even today, although the scale of agricultural production may have decreased over time. Some participants explain this economy as a legacy of the agricultural plantations from which these communities descend, while others explain it's merely a matter of fertile land and ideal geography of the Millars and John Millars area.

As agricultural production began to decline in the twentieth century, tourism development began to increase on Eleuthera. The investment in tourism had drastic effects on the landscape. Some interview participants share stories of family land and farm fields that now lie within the boundaries of tourist development areas like Cotton Bay and Princess Cay. In other areas, the coastal landscape has been affected due to tourism construction projects such as dredging and cutting into rock and coral areas for docks and yachting. Elsewhere, the demolition of tourism sites built throughout the mid-twentieth century are likely to have left traces of chemicals that were once prevalent in construction materials, leaving soils unsuitable for new agriculture.

Figure 34. Demolition of the Cotton Bay Club, facing northwest, towards road and former golf course. June 2017.

[5] Pothole farming refers to a practice that originates in Lucayan agriculture. Potholes refer to cracks or eroded holes that form in the limestone that forms the Bahama islands. These potholes fill with pockets of soil over time or through the burning of existing vegetation, enabling increased agricultural production for a short period, until the soil is depleted of nutrients again. For more information on agriculture in the Bahamas, see FAO 2017, Thomas 2017.

Contemporary Life in South Eleuthera

This question has been addressed largely through ethnographic research between 2015-2017, including semi-structured interviews, oral histories, daily observation, and informal conversation. Life in South Eleuthera is slow, relaxed, peaceful and friendly. People care deeply for each other and for the land around them. Although the settlements may not be as populous or developed as they were in the past, people are committed to their home places, to their communities, and they want to see life here improve and thrive.

People often acknowledge that employment options in the south are slim, however there is still a strong entrepreneurial spirit that has made many people successful in small, local businesses. Some are aimed at local residents, where others connect more directly with tourists who come through the south. For older residents and those with physical ailments, life can be difficult due to mobility and access to care. Young people spend time in schools, sports, church, and take advantage of local camps and programs throughout the year.

Local organizations and institutions have poured in a lot of dedicated work and energy to improving life in the southern settlements. The One Eleuthera Foundation has established hugely successful programs that train young people in employable skills, enable people to improve their health and create a more sustainable and healthier environment. The Bahamas Plastic Movement has visited numerous schools in the past year to educate young people on reducing, reusing, and recycling trash on the island; and they offer a summer camp and clean-up programs to educate residents and improve the cleanliness of the beaches and the health of the environment. Youth in this group have also been instrumental in petitioning for environmental regulation and protection throughout the Bahamas, including a 2020 ban on single-use plastics and styrofoam. The Cape Eleuthera Institute and the Island School are leading the way in environmental sustainability, education, and outreach to local communities in South Eleuthera. The Island School has also engaged in settlement visits and built a history program that focuses on Bahamian life, culture, and local oral history. The Wemyss Bight Community Library has also been a centerpiece for community building and education, where Ms. Clara Williams has worked closely with young people to encourage a love of learning.

This list is by no means exhaustive or fully representative of the true scope of innovation and engagement among local residents and institutions in South Eleuthera. We hope to continue to build on these meaningful partnerships and add to the committed and passionate work of those listed here.

Finally, there is a clear desire among residents to learn about and preserve local heritage. Although many worry that the older folks who carry deep memories and maintain oral histories about life on the island may soon leave us, there is a strong sense of place and of history in South Eleuthera. Although this older history is valuable, we should also encourage people today to record their lives so that future generations can gain insight into their own history in the years to come. Eleutheran history and culture is unique and valuable as it is, and local residents should remain in control of determining how best to preserve and maintain their histories, architecture, material culture, cuisine, and more

NEXT STEPS

The Millars Plantation project will continue to process the data collected over the past several years of field research. In the last two summers, we have begun to incorporate digital archaeology methods to better understand the Millars landscape. With the use of geospatial computer programs, we have collected a large amount of data that can enhance how we understand Southern Eleuthera. The term digital archaeology is simply the study of the archaeological past using technology. The practice is closely connected to cultural heritage studies and a way to use technology to collect digital archaeological data, processing it, and turning it into an analytical and media tool.

Digital archaeology methods are still being refined, but they offer a connection between archaeologists, archivists, engineers, the public, and everyone else with a stake in global heritage. By using this technology, we can go into a space and then rebuild it on a computer. We can build models that create a time-stamp of an archaeological site's state of preservation or excavation. The digital model can be used away from the site to contextualize artifacts; to see things one might not have seen on-site; to build conservation solutions; and even to share the site with those who can't visit it in person (including other experts who might have new insights, or the curious public as virtual tourists.)

Online Digital Storymap

The data collected over the last several years is being combined and compiled into an online and open access digital storymap, hosted on Google Tourbuilder. This digital storymap pairs satellite maps of the area with 360-degree panoramic and traditional photos and oral histories in one shared format. The storymap covers the region from Cotton Bay to Lighthouse Point, including special focus on the former Millars Estate in John Millars, Millars, and Bannerman Town.

The storymap is accessible at no cost and with no special training for users. It can be accessed online, through a computer or smartphone, allowing digital visits from anywhere in the world. The storymap has the potential to fit into local heritage projects, including interpretation of cultural and natural sites or touristic development initiatives. Island-based organizations can link to the map on their websites and printed materials, or post signage at relevant sites to indicate online resources. This kind of practice is common in many heritage sites around the world, sometimes using QR codes to enable visitors to quickly scan a barcode to be connected to online resources and more information.

Full landscape Survey of Bannerman Town

There is significant potential to continue this kind of landscape and heritage research throughout South Eleuthera. This report provides a wide introduction to some key themes, historical narratives, and cultural sites in South Eleuthera, but also suggests several areas that would benefit from more extensive study. In particular, areas in Bannerman Town are especially sensitive and in need of further study and documentation due to the potential of land development by multinational tourism corporations and Bahamian real estate companies. Future research throughout Bannerman Town may be easily added to the growing data archive outlined in this report. Additional information is easily added to the online digital storymap, which is an accessible and easily navigable tool that does not require extensive or expensive training. Local residents may be quickly trained by local organizations or educational institutions to collect this data and add it to the digital storymap.

Community collaboration

It is essential that any future work on studying and recording cultural heritage or preserving cultural sites on the landscape is done collaboratively between community members, local groups and institutions. Eleutherans care deeply about their island even as they pursue sometimes opposing plans for insuring community prosperity. Because of the diversity of opinions and values throughout South Eleuthera, it is important that these efforts at recording and preserving local heritage be the product of community collaboration.

Appendix

Summary of Register of Slaves, Bahamas. Returns of Robert Millar, 1825-1834

Summary of Millar Family Slave Holdings 1825-1834						
	Eleuthera	Long Island	Total	Under age 9	African	Creole
1825	64	14	78	13	11	67
1828	70	19	89	28	11	78
1831	87	22	109	40	10	99
1834	93	22	115	48	8	108

Summary of Millar Family Slave Holdings at Emancipation, 1834							
	Eleuthera	Under age 9	Female	Male	African	Field labourer	Domestic servant
Eleuthera	93	38	49	44	6	49	5
Long Island	22	10	10	12	2	12	0
Total	115	48	59	56	8	61	5

Return of Robert Millar, 1834. Register of Slaves, Bahamas.											
Name *(Note: ** denotes a name listed in Ann Millar will)*	Sex	Age, Noted as Years.Months	Colour *(Note: B, Black; M, Mulatto)*	Place of Employment at time of Return	African or Creole	If recently acquired	How and where employed since 28 August 1832 or if acquired since that date how and when employed since the time of acquisition *(Note: return lists Field Labourer, Domestic, Nil on [Island])*		Effective non Effective or labouring under any bodily infermity or diseases	How acquired and disposed of, etc	If sold or otherwise alienated since 20 August 1832, how employed between that period and the time of alienation
Harriet **	Female	57.7	B	Eleuthera	African		Field	PA	non Effective		
Calia	Female	64.7	B	Eleuthera	African		Field	PA	non Effective		
Delia	Female	37.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Fattima **	Female	32.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Nelly **	Female	33.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Jack **	Male	24.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Kitty	Female	21.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Sally	Female	17.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Stephen	Male	14.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Domestic	NP	Effective		
Archy	Male	70.7	B	Eleuthera	African		Nil	NP	non Effective		
Jacob **	Male	52.7	B	Eleuthera	African		Field	PA	Effective		
Charlotte	Female	49.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Margery	Female	30.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Chloe **	Female	21.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Sarah **	Female	19.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Cato	Male	17.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Jacob **	Male	15.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Domestic	NP	Effective		
Judith	Female	62.7	B	Eleuthera	African		Field	PA	Effective		
Grace **	Female	27.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		

Sarah **	Female	34.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Jeany	Female	15.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Domestic	NP	Effective		
Brutus	Male	13.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Phillis **	Female	35.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Joe	Male	33.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Tony	Male	62.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Diana	Female	64.7	B	Eleuthera	African		Field	PA	Effective		
Tina	Female	39.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Susy	Female	19.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Domestic	NP	Effective		
George **	Male	15.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Nanny	Female	13.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Harry	Male	37.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Hetty	Female	43.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Nick	Male	22.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
William	Male	16.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Castleton	Male	57.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Rose	Female	47.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Sylvia	Female	20.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Delia	Female	17.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Priscilla	Female	13.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Sophy	Female	37.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Bristol	Male	20.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Emy	Female	18.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Pinder **	Female	15.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Domestic	NP	Effective		
Dinah **	Female	28.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Dick	Male	57.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Clem	Male	27.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Daphne	Female	12.5	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Henry	Male	11.10	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Isaac	Male	11.8	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Flora	Female	11.6	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Lyzzy	Female	10.10	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Bella	Female	10.6	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Sam	Male	10.3	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Dolly	Female	9.10	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		

Simon	Male	8.6	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Gabriel	Male	8.4	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Rose	Female	8.5	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Caesar	Male	8.5	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Solomon	Male	8.1	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Philip	Male	7.00	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Lucy	Female	7.00	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Nanny	Female	7.00	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Anthony	Male	7.5	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Winter	Male	6.2	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Non Effective		
Beck	Female	6.4	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Non Effective		
Frederick	Male	6.1	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.	NP	Non Effective		
Scipio **	Male	5.00	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Adam	Male	4.10	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Scipio **	Male	4.5	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Daniel	Male	4.5	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Joe	Male	4.3	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Lucinda	Female	4.2	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Mary	Female	4.2	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Alan	Male	3.10	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Mary Ann	Female	4.4	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
John	Male	52.7	B	Eleuthera	Creole		Field labourer and carpenter	PA	Non Effective		
Peter	Male	3.3	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1831	Nil.		Non Effective		
Lewis	Male	3.00	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1831	Nil.		Non Effective		
Rachel	Female	3.3	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1831	Nil.		Non Effective		
Madeline	Female	3.	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1831	Nil.		Non Effective		
Venus	Female	2.	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		

Titus	Male	2.	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		
Dorathy	Male	2.	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		
Lucretia	Female	1.9	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		
Archy	Male	1.9	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		
Cubar	Female	1.8	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		
Peggy	Female	1.8	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		
Robin	Male	1.8	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		
Paul	Male	1.4	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1833	Nil.		Non Effective		
Frank	Male	1.	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1833	Nil.		Non Effective		
Ben	Male	0.6	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1834	Nil.		Non Effective		
Clarissa	Female	0.5	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1834	Nil.		Non Effective		
Dinah **	Female	0.3	B	Eleuthera	Creole	Born 1834	Nil.		Non Effective		
Nanny	Female	42.7	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Archy	Male	22.7	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Susy	Female	27.7	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Giss	Male	30.7	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Peter	Male	42.7	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		

Hannah	Female	38.7	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Dorcas	Female	24.7	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Jim	Male	14.7	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
London	Male	62.7	B	Long Island	African		Field	PA	Non Effective		
Dorcas	Female	62.7	B	Long Island	African		Field	PA	Effective		
Davy	Male	12.4	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Billy	Male	10.4	B	Long Island	Creole		Field	PA	Effective		
Leah	Female	8.8	B	Long Island	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Johnny	Male	8.2	B	Long Island	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Isaac	Male	8.2	B	Long Island	Creole		Nil.	NP	Effective		
Eliza	Female	6.2	B	Long Island	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Tom	Male	5.9	B	Long Island	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Mary	Female	5.9	B	Long Island	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Calia	Female	3.1	B	Long Island	Creole		Nil.		Non Effective		
Lydia	Female	2.2	B	Long Island	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		
Peter	Male	2.3	B	Long Island	Creole	Born 1832	Nil.		Non Effective		
John	Male	0.2	B	Long Island	Creole	Born 1834	Nil.		Non Effective		
Polly **	Female		B		Creole					Manumitted in March 1834	
Scipio **	Male		B		Creole					Manumitted in July 1834	
Tom	Male		B		Creole					Manumitted in July 1834	
Frederick	Male		B		Creole					Manumitted in July 1834	
George **	Male		B		Creole					Manumitted in July 1834	

Polly **	Female		M		Creole					Manumitted in July 1834	
Charles	Male		M		Creole					Manumitted in July 1834	
Henry	Male		M		Creole					Manumitted in July 1834	
Jim	Male		M		Creole					Manumitted in July 1834	
Jeany	Female		M		Creole					Born 1832. Manumitted in July 1834	
Mary Ann	Female		B		African					Died in 1831	
Anthony	Male		B		Creole					Died in 1832	
Lydia	Female		B		Creole					Died in 1832	
Adam	Male		B		Creole					Died in 1833	
Phillis	Female		M		Creole					Died in 1833	

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